UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

Contributors to this issue:

JESSE H. HOLMES

HARRISON BROWN

WALTER WALSH

JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE

RAMACHANDRA SABNIS

MARGUERITE EMILIO

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 199
Is Socialism the Remedy?—JESSE H. HOLMES 201
Jottings—J. H. H. 202

ARTICLES—
The European Press and Outlawry—(From Our Regular Correspondent)—HARRISON BROWN 203
The Idea of God—WALTER WALSH 204
Sweating Over Coal—JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE 205
Two Bibles—RAMACHANDRA SABNIS 207

POETRY—
Spring—MARGUERITE EMILIO 199

THE STUDY TABLE—
The Bolshevik and the Mahatma—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 208
Memoirs of a Revolutionist—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL 210

CORRESPONDENCE—
An Echo of the Anniversary from Hungary—EUGENIE M. MELLER 210
An Echo from California—GERTRUDE GROTOPHORST 210
Coolidge, Kellogg and Peace—WILLIAM PICKENS 211

THE FIELD—
The Seminar on Relations with Mexico 211
Old Age Pensions 211

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CI MONDAY, MAY 14, 1928 NUMBER 11

SPRING

A Hymn

When Spring with dainty beauty
Adorns the leaf-swept trees;
When songs of birds returning
Are brought on every breeze;
Our hearts are filled with gladness,
And, like the stars at morn,
We join in songs of praises
For this fair earth reborn.

The whiteness of the winter
So pure, so coldly bright,
Yields now to tender greenness.
To mellow, glowing light.
The grasses on the hillside,
Till lately old and sere,
Push up in new, fresh verdure;
And gay-hued flowers appear.

O thou creative spirit
That brings the Spring to birth
Make us to feel our oneness
With this awakened earth.
Thine is the life that quickens
In man, as in the tree,
And for the gift of living
We offer thanks to thee.

MARGUERITE EMILIO.

Help! *Help!!* A crisis in the lives of millions of people in this country and also far across the world is now at hand. Here in America the pitiful cry of the starving miners and their families is mounting to our ears. Conditions in the mining districts, as revealed by impartial investigating committees, are perhaps the worst that have existed in this free land for years. Whole families are subsisting on a few fragments of bread a day; women and children by the thousands are homeless, almost naked, and perpetually hungry. The flood of misery has now become so great that extraordinary funds must be had at once in order to stem it. To the everlasting shame of the Red Cross, be it said, this supposedly non-partisan relief organization has refused to send its agents or its funds into the stricken areas. Like the Priest and the Levite in the old story, the Red Cross is passing by on the other side, and it remains for the rest of us, all of us together, to be the Good Samaritan. The other center of distress at this moment is in distant China. "The Chinese province of Shantung," according to reports that have come to the Federal Council of Churches, "is suffering the worst famine a country has ever known." . . . "The people are eating the bark of trees, children are for sale at less than $1.00 a head." Failure of crops has been aggravated by the horrors of civil war, and the two things now conspire together to create a condition of misery and death for millions which is absolutely unprecedented. Here is a chance for Americans to do something for China besides sending war-ships and marines to protect the Standard Oil concessions. The cry of starvation should be answered at least as efficiently as the cry of peril to property. Unfortunately, government will not act in the former case, as in the latter, so again the obligation to help belongs to us. Send money for the starving miners of America to the Emergency Committee, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 1027, New York City. Send money for the starving millions in China to the Association for the Children of China, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

This fellow, Sandino, down in Nicaragua, seems to be a slippery customer. If he is a brigand, he is a clever brigand; if he is an heroic patriot, he is at least as able as was George Washington in the dark days of the American Revolution. Certainly he is most embarrassing to American officialdom. One would think that the administration would have given up the hazardous business of making prophecies about the collapse of Sandino's rebellion. Yet only the other day, Secretary of the Navy Wilbur, fatuous as ever, solemnly announced that Sandino had abandoned Nicaragua and escaped across the frontier to some neighboring country. No sooner had this announcement from official sources been duly circulated through the country, than the news suddenly broke that Sandino had captured a group of American mines in Nicaragua, and incidentally in the fracas had killed some innocent Americans. It's a wonderful campaign that is being conducted in Nicaragua under the Stars and Stripes! More and more good American blood is spilled, more and more good American reputation ruined, more and more good American ideals flouted, and Sandino is as free a man and as successful a military commander as ever. For all our regret at the needless, indeed criminal loss of American lives, we have to confess to a growing admiration for the ability, courage, and sacrifice of this heroic Nicaraguan patriot. We are reminded of the famous statement of the venerable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, in the English House of Commons, when he heard of the resistance of the American colonists to British arms. "The gentlemen tell us," said the great

statesman, "that America is obstinate; that America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted."

When President Coolidge, in his address to the Daughters of the American Revolution, solemnly warned his hearers against the perils of government ownership and enterprise in business, and said that, among these perils, would be "great danger of corruption and scandal," this editor just plumb collapsed. Ever since reading this presidential remark, we have been wandering around, dazed and speechless, wondering where we are and what kind of a world this is, anyhow. As frequently in such cases, however, we are slowly coming to, and now can wield a pen, though our tongue still refuses to function. And we don't know but what our brain is permanently damaged. For night and day there courses through the channels of our cerebellum, a kind of squeak, "Sinclair Oil," "Sinclair Oil." Obviously, something is wrong with the mental works! Yet, even so, we are not as those who are without hope, for, whatever the damage to the editorial brain, it still can see what a presidential brain evidently cannot see, that "great danger of corruption and scandal" springs straight from our present system of private ownership and enterprise in business. Can anyone not a Republican president imagine any greater "corruption and scandal" in a Socialist state than the actual "corruption and scandal" that have prevailed in the last seven years in this very flower and perfection of the capitalist state? We are sensible enough, we hope, to recognize that no system of society is ever going to cure utterly the problem of corruption. Human depravity has something to do with that! But we are convinced that, if there is any system calculated to foster corruption, it is our present capitalistic system of private enterprise overmastering government by sheer weight of economic power—and we point to the record as proof that we are right. *Per contra,* we can think of no social system so surely calculated to end corruption as that which makes government itself the master and user of economic power. How much corruption is there in the Post-Office, the Panama Canal, the forestry reserves, as compared with the railroads, oil, and coal? Private not public enterprise is the running sore.

Good can come even out of Philadelphia in these parlous days of Vare and of a police whom General Butler could not subdue. For the past seventeen years a quiet little industrial revolution has been going forward in the City of Brotherly Love. It has leaped to Buffalo, whose repute for industrial integrity includes the fame of Lackawanna steel mills. It is invading Wilmington, the commercial capital of Delaware, incubator of shady industrial trusts since Woodrow Wilson put New Jersey out of that bad running. It is a method of industrial organization so efficient that it has regenerated a broken down public utility corporation which had never paid dividends, until it now returns eight per cent regularly to its stockholders. It is so human that federated labor has finally adopted the program for approval, promising to co-operate in its development anywhere and everywhere throughout the country. It involves workers' representation on the directorate and workers' profit-sharing. The arena of demonstration is the traction system of Philadelphia. As already intimated, the system has already colonized in Buffalo and Wilmington. There is some talk of carrying it into the impossible traction tangle in New York. It is so just that organized labor, made suspicious by much betrayal under corporate "efficiency," and after having subjected it to the most searching scrutiny and the tests of experience, completely capitulates and grants it cordial and unqualified endorsement. And it is truly efficient! Those who use Philadelphia transit facilities can testify to that. The balance sheets of the corporation are another evidence. The public is let in on everything. Its books are open. The public knows what it is getting in service, how much the service costs, and to whom the profits are going. Such an organization cannot go far wrong. It is at least as good as democracy.

One of the most significant features of the industrial democracy being worked out in Philadelphia and elsewhere, as indicated in the foregoing paragraph, is the elimination of the waste and autocracy of the investment banker. This corporation and its workers conduct their own banking business. The banker is doubtless a very good thing, as banker. As manager and czar of industrial operations he is a roaring and sinister blunder. He is a gambler of the highest finesse: he lets the public play the game and he sweeps the tables. His system is a gigantic Monte Carlo, with the banker holding the bank. He and his devices are responsible, as are none others, for the present socially disastrous distribution of the rewards of industry. He creates the bloated corporations who spew their fictitious wealth upon the public from the stock exchanges, and he creates the iniquitous fortunes which furnish the scandals of billionarea. To be sure, he is merely the implement of purposes which others are entirely willing of pursue. But his ingenuity and fell power compound the mischief. The banker is in the political saddle. Mr. Mellon, prince among bankers, is right on the job. Mr. Coolidge is deeply beloved of the banking fraternity, however occasionally he escapes from Mr. Mellon's influence and accepts measures calculated to serve real human interests. These lapses into courageous humanity are not so frequent as greatly to disturb the banker's sublime confidence in the presidential "sanity." At bottom there is no clearer issue before the American electorate in this year of destiny: shall the banker remain in the saddle, and be allowed

to settle more securely in his stirrups? The popular candidates of all parties are profoundly distrusted by these banker politicians. The Harding and Coolidge types are better for their purposes, much better. The banker-banker is much needed, doubtless. The politician-manager-industrial-czar-banker democratic society can get along without.

Church union is moving on apace in this country. The Congregational and Christian bodies evidently mean business, as witness the recommendations formally adopted by the commissions of the two bodies, and now to be submitted to the churches. These recommendations, as reported and approved by the *Congregationalist* and the *Herald of Gospel Liberty,* are:

1. That each denomination shall at the earliest possible date take action endorsing an organic union between the two. 2. That the union shall be conditioned upon the acceptance of Christianity as primarily a way of life, not upon uniformity in opinions or in the practice of ordinances, each individual church and group of churches remaining free to develop its own forms of expression, and congregational autonomy and individual liberty continuing undisturbed. 3. That the name of the united church for the present shall be "Congregational-Christian," but that each local church may continue to use its present name if it so desires. 4. That as soon as this proposal has been ratified by the official bodies, a joint committee shall be appointed to work out a detailed plan for the complete merging of the enterprises and organizations of the two denominations, which plan shall be submitted to a general convention of the two bodies for action.

These recommendations, it will be noted, are something more than the usual namby-pamby ideas of friendly relations, etc. These two church bodies are not satisfied with asking ministers to exchange pulpits, and societies to send fraternal delegates, in evidence of goodwill which sounds well and means nothing. No, these churches, as the *Christian Century* well points out, are after "organic unity;" they are seeking nothing less than "the complete merging of them into a single body." On the same day that we get this good news, we read of the plan, already far advanced, for the merger of the Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian churches of the country. This is the biggest movement of church union that has ever been attempted, involving as it does some 17,000,000 church members, 35,000 churches, and property valued at not less than $850,000,000. And it is a real movement, for the Methodists and the Presbyterians, exactly like the Congregationalists and the Christians, are proposing an organic union of two denominations into one. This program, we are told, will be presented at the forthcoming meeting of the Quadrennial General Conference of Methodists, and at the same time to the Presbyterian gathering at Tulsa, Oklahoma. All this looks as though the beginning of the end of Protestant denominationalism were at hand. Of course, it is only a beginning, but the initial steps are the most difficult. With these two statesmanlike and beneficent movements consummated, the rest will be easy if not rapid. Thank heaven for the day when the curse of denominationalism will be lifted, and the church of Christ at last made one.

Is Socialism the Remedy?

The general situation of our western world seems to indicate that it is impossible to reconcile the competitive and capitalistic system with either Christianity or democracy. If it has seemed possible in the past century it is merely because the pioneers of America came into possession of stored wealth so enormous that for a very long time it seemed as if there was enough for everyone. There was in the first place the stored fertility of the soil gradually accumulated in millions of years. Slow growing forests with trees centuries old covered thousands of square miles of territory,—an apparently limitless supply of timber for every conceivable purpose. Though as yet undiscovered there was hidden in the hills an accumulation of coal containing potential heat, power, and light which would one day rob winter of her terrors of cold and turn night into our social day,—even in many cases into industrial day as well. The earth hid also an incalculable oil supply, in trust for our hurried century, ready to enable us as Mr. Dooley once remarked "to go rapidly to places where we don't want to be, and to come rapidly back again." There was, also natural gas, iron, gold, silver and a hundred other stores of the things which make the wealth of man. And all this wealth belonged to nobody at all! The American Indian made practically no use of any of it, and on the whole inclined to welcome the white man as a friend and neighbor.

In a few centuries we have gone through this wealth like a band of looters in a sumptuous palace. Our forefathers sucked out the fertility of the eastern soil and went west leaving behind them a trail of abandoned farms. We have wasted the timber with the lavish abandon of a drunken soldier in an enemy's country. Doubtless we have allowed to burn, rot, or otherwise waste, twice over what we have used; and we have hardly touched the very necessary task of replacement. The prophets of conservation and reforesting, like Roosevelt and Pinchot, cried aloud to dull ears and heavy minds, and were able to accomplish very little. Our coal has been and is being wasted, according to the statement of experts, about two tons to every one put to actual use; and although the end of our supply is already in sight, we are wholly unable to deal with this atrocious crime and folly against the well-being of our world. Our priceless oil supply has been

sold for a price to make a few score millionaires, and has been wasted in more prodigal fashion than even the coal; while most of the precious natural gas went up in utter uselessness. So have we wasted our heritage in riotous living, and called the process "the development of our resources"; and we are deeply indignant when our neighbors resent a similar "development" of their resources, and make efforts to recover them from our paper titles and preserve them for the use of their own people. There is something naive—or criminal—in the feeling our people have that from whatever temporary dictator or tyrant in South or Central America they purchase titles, and however disastrous the transaction may be to the natives involved, nevertheless, those titles must be made good, even by the lives and wealth of our fellow citizens. We have thus sustained the looting of our neighbor's treasure, while wasting our own.

It should be noted that most of this stored wealth could only be obtained by labor, and the early pioneers were willing and anxious to labor for it: to till their own soil, to cut their own trees, to build their homes, to kill game for food and clothing and all the rest of it. But presently in spite of the enormous supply the accumulated natural wealth was all appropriated. For it soon became evident that if one took more than he himself could use the next comer would have to buy of him the privilege of laboring thereon; and as more and more was taken, men were forced farther and farther back until the end was reached. When underground wealth was discovered the owner of the surface claimed it, and the claim was carelessly allowed although anyone can see that there was no justice in so giving away this heritage from God, which should belong to all his people.

So today no man can work for himself without the consent of an "owner" of the opportunity to labor; and said "owners" can live in idleness on the price they receive for permission to labor on their "property." Equality is plainly impossible when men are dependent on others for the privilege of labor. The scale of life of the laborer is at the mercy of the man who controls the job, and history shows us that he has no mercy. Freedom is impossible unless men can have some certainty of their future and for that of their wives and children. Democracy is impossible without men who are free from fear, about their opportunity for earning a livelihood, and without some sense of that equality with which "all men are created." Unless we can restore freedom and equality our great experiment in self government is not merely threatened but has failed, however we may preserve the empty forms and the high sounding phrases. Who shall say we have maintained our great aims, governed as we have increasingly been governed by "malefactors of great wealth" who have seized power and destroyed liberty? Who claims that the law is equally administered, when hundreds are convicted for petty crimes and the great war grafters never even reach trial? when the laborer is refused the common every day privileges of life, and the employer rides rough-shod over our most fundamental laws?

Our political parties offer us no remedies and hardly even admit the diseases. Both cater to the capitalist in the hope of donations; neither offers any hope of dealing fundamentally with the evils of the situation. Should not the citizen who believes in liberty and equality use his influence and his vote for the Socialist party, which has nominated men of ability and character, and adopted a platform dealing with just the foundation problems which are being so cautiously sidestepped by the candidates of the powerful parties? The man is not victorious who votes for what he does not want and gets it. A vote in a minor party counts for vastly more in influence than an habitual vote for the party we "belong to." Of course "socialism" is a terrible word and is on the "black list" with many honorable men and ideas. But we have already public control of roads, post offices, jails, schools and many other utilities. There is no principle involved in having the public own concrete roads and private corporations own steel roads. And at this time when the effort to seize the last bit of stored wealth still partly in the public hands—which of course, is power—a greatly increased Socialist vote would be a warning which party leaders would not ignore. The writer has never been a party socialist or a theoretical socialist; but is about ready to be a practical socialist, in view of the disgraced and disgraceful situation of our major parties.

JESSE H. HOLMES.

Jottings

It was something of a shock to step onto Fifth Avenue the other day, and see all the lamp-posts intertwined with American and *German* flags, in welcome of the German flyers. And only ten years ago this Avenue was called the "Avenue of the Allies" (see Alfred Noyes's famous poem of that title)! Were we crazy then, or are we crazy now?

The death of Baron Wrangel brings to mind the day when this "white" general gathered an army at Sebastopol, raised his flag against the Bolsheviks, and was promptly recognized by France as the *de facto* government of Russia. France has learned better since!

"I have been teaching young people, and observing them, for nearly forty years. In my judgment, the youth of today

have just as sound physical and moral health as they ever had. I may add that no young men and women I have known have given evidence of more promise for the future."

This statement is by William Lyon Phelps, of Yale. If there is anybody in this land better fitted to bear testimony about college young men today than Professor Phelps, we do not know him. Now match his testimony against the yarns and rumors about our drunken college youth and all the rest, and know the truth.

Lord Grey supports Secretary Kellogg's Outlawry treaty. "It seems inconceivable," he said, on April 25th last, "that the very beneficent initiative which the United States has taken in world politics should be rebuffed by a refusal." This is a more potent word than many a pacifist has spoken. Why does anybody hang back?

At this very hour when churches, ashamed of their denominationalism, are getting together, a new denomination has appeared. It is called the "Anti-Paid Preacher Society." We have always denied that any denomination has any reason for being. This new society convinces us, however, that there may be a reason. For surely the "Anti-Paid Preacher Society" is amply justified as showing the utter and perfect nonsense of the whole business of denominations.

A suggested epitaph:

In Memoriam

FLOYD BENNETT

"Greater love hath no man than this,
that a man lay down his life for his friends."

J. H. H.

The European Press and Outlawry

[From our Regular Correspondent]

If ever a history of Outlawry comes to be written, one of the most important, and certainly one of the most difficult, chapters will deal with the Press reactions towards the idea. In its early stages Outlawry owed nothing to the daily press; indeed it may be said that the idea made its way in spite of the indifference of the newspapers. Since the opening of the Franco-American negotiations last summer, however, it has become the sport of the press of the whole world, not always to its advantage, for at times almost any "story" remotely connected with peace ideals has appeared under the heading "Outlawry of War." As the Kellogg proposals have developed the realization has spread that, as the *Times* put it on April 16th: "The United States has generously assumed a great responsibility in making an offer of a scope so far reaching."

It is not only the European press which has been slow to recognize the epoch-making nature of the proposal for the renunciation of war in favor of the pacific settlement of international disputes, many of the leading American papers have been quite as sceptical of its sincerity and even more scathing. It would be a mistake to take such comments too seriously. Governments after all are not in the habit of suggesting revolutionary changes without any ulterior motive; modern journalism rarely leaves room for much subtlety and it may be argued that in the world of politics an exaggerated scepticism is often only a cover for indecision. What is inexcusable, however, is deliberate misrepresentation, and it must be admitted that in most countries there have been papers which have descended to this.

The publication of the draft of the multi-lateral treaty without reference to the French reservations has aroused a storm of indignation in the French press. The semi-official *Temps* alone is moderate in its comments. All the rest, from Left to Right, denounce the "manoeuvre" by which France has been obliged to issue a counter proposal and whereby a breach has been made between the French and American proposals, upon the respective merits of which the other four great Powers must practically sit in judgment. The Paris *Volonte*, a paper whose radical views may be judged from the fact that it is the only French daily which discusses the origins of the war in a non-partisan spirit, resolutely upholds the French reservations and says that either the renunciation must be confined to wars of aggression or else the pact cannot be made operative until every civilized country in the world has signed it. "Any other project is inacceptable to France, as logically it should be inacceptable to all members of the League." And again,

> The Chancelleries concerned will have to defend widely varying and often contradictory interests. The negotiations between the six Powers will be quite as complex and certainly much longer than the original tête-a-tête would have been. The occupants of the White House wanted to move quickly but they have taken the wrong road. The proposal for permament peace will involve an interminable exchange of views and it will not succeed if the United States keep to their present position.

This attitude is inspired by a determination to safeguard the French system of military alliances, and even though it must seem to many of us that this strange insistence upon leaving the door open for war is incompatible with French protestations of her desire for peace, the magnitude of the change it is sought to bring about should be recognized by America. The European obsession that security can only be obtained by the threat of war, false though history proves it to be, is too deep rooted to be overcome without much patience. Were it otherwise, Outlawry would be a European and not an American idea! That it will give way to patient reasoning is as certain as that any other course will prove fatal and it is well to remember that there are some at the Quai d'Orsay whose views on foreign policy are not limited to the exploded fallacies represented by Poincare's mailed fist.

It is the attitude of Britain which is all important at this juncture, and there is a distinct note of anxiety in the French press lest the pull of public opinion there, added to the recognized distaste of the Foreign Office for the overstressing of the "sanctions" clauses of the Covenant, should outweigh the Tory dislike for multi-

lateral agreements of any kind, and induce the British Government to favor the comprehensive American view rather than the practically valueless French counter-proposal. Germany, too, although wholly favorable to the Kellogg proposal, is likely to be guided to some extent by the British attitude. Italy so far has pooh-poohed the idea and it would be strange indeed if the French distrust of "empty platitudes" ranged her beside the country of whom she is most afraid, in a minority of two. And without at present probing deeper than the British press comments there is ample reason to suppose that England agrees with Washington rather than with France.

Hitherto the London press has been non-committal when not mildly sceptical, but since the publication on April 13th of the Houghton note and the draft of the suggested treaty a striking change has come about. The *Times* wrote in a leader on 14th April:

> The Powers upon whom much depends are invited to commit themselves to a continuous policy of peace, definitely to put war out of consideration in their mutual intercourse, on the assumption, upon which the United States Government lays great stress, that a host of lesser nations would be eager to follow so notable an example. Since the question is so clearly put, since the offer is so seriously made, the response of the Powers must be equal to the occasion. For our own Government the task presents little difficulty. Peace, the prevention of war, is for the British people, for the whole British Empire, a dominant issue.

J. L. Garvin's leader in the *Observer* of the 15th is evidence of a fuller appreciation of the significance of the proposals than this writer has yet shown.

> These are the terms, (he writes) simply conceived and very positively defined, on which the United States is ready once more to take her place in the world's councils. They are terms which British opinion will unhesitatingly endorse.

Referring to the "apparently pointed exclusion of Russia from the proposed treaty," Mr. Garvin remarks that "M. Litvinoff's presence at the Geneva disarmament meetings creates a channel of communication." Elsewhere in the same paper he writes under the heading "Geneva, Locarno, Kellogg,"

> The proposed multilateral renunciation of war is the climax of the world's aspirations for peace, as manifested since the war. The League Covenant made the first advance. It sought to secure the general peace by organising the punishment of an aggressor. Locarno went a step further by particularising the Geneva principle in one storm-centre, the Rhine frontier. In both cases war as a police measure was contemplated as a sanction. The Kellogg treaty would differ from them both by the complete elimination of any sanction.

Precisely! It will be time enough to deal with the teachnical problems of peace when we have put recourse to war out of our minds. Elsewhere again the *Observer* says that

> The American Note has been promptly construed in London and in most of the other capitals primarily concerned as potentially the biggest event in modern diplomatic history.

And the same diplomatic correspondent goes on to state expressly that the inevitable delay in sending a reply will be due to the necessity of consulting the Dominions and must not be thought to imply any lack of enthusiasm on the part of the British Government.

> It is recognised in London that the greatest initial asset of the American proposal is that such a pact, signed by the United States, the British Empire, Germany, France, Japan and Italy, would already have behind it the major decisive force of the world's diplomacy. The prospect, therefore, is regarded in London with confidence.

Even more remarkable is the leading article of April 17th in the *Daily News*, the most strongly pro-League paper in London, entitled "Will They Dare," and addressed rather too aggressively to France. The article says:

> The stage is set for a world-wide co-operation with the greatest nation in the world, and any Government which sets its face deliberately against that co-operation will be taking a grave responsibility. The sceptics may argue that this plan is nothing but a promise, a scrap of paper with no threats in it, no mention of sanctions. America herself is under no obligation to punish or share in the punishment of the nation which may break its pledge. There is no distinction between an aggressive and a defensive war. All this is true. It is also true that for the first time America has offered her signature to an international instrument more stringent than the League Covenant itself, and would in the very act make war a contingency more remote than it has ever been since the armistice. It is a proposal which by its nature changes the whole conception of peace-building. The difficulties are obvious but technical. Will France, will any League State, dare to throw down the gauntlet?

With patient reasoning Outlawry will come.

HARRISON BROWN.

London, England.

The Idea of God

[A Supplement to A. Laforge in UNITY January 9th.]

In this wonderful and mysterious universe, I recognize the presence of thought, goodness, will, beyond myself, and ask, *What! How?* I am aware,—not only of mind but,—of mind that reflects, that proposes to itself certain ends; and I perceive that the world is intelligent; it has order and law, structure and form, color and pattern, sound and harmony; and it rises up into glorious beauty in sea and sky, mountain, moor, and meadow, and in the faces and invisible loves of men and women, little children, and the wistful beasts. As I judge a garden by its sweetest flowers, so test I the universe by the best it produces—the great virtue of human nature, its glorious idealism, its willingness to sacrifice, and that tendency toward betterment which is at the root of nature and in the heart of man. Plainly is to be discerned a universal will manifesting itself—here as power, there as goodness, yonder as love, elsewhere as justice or truth, all floating forward on the vast stream of tendency which through countless ages takes shape in great civilizations, making and writing histories, poems, dramas, philosophies, religions, all different yet holding a common likeness, and all moving as by a common enchantment to some yet undiscerned end, which yet may be no end, but a new and more wonderful beginning.

Finally, when I perceive that all this which I see and feel is a mere hint and fraction of the infinite life, the eternal being, above and beyond immeasurable space and time, I search for a name by which to express the amazement which stuns me into dumbness. Many are the names employed to indicate the inexpressible reality, according to race, age, or language; and since all are inadequate, while none can be sufficient, to set it forth, why should I not humbly associate myself with my kind, and say—*God?*

London, England. WALTER WALSH.

Sweating Over Coal

Near the close of April a Seminar on Coal was held in Pittsburgh. Ministers and other religious leaders were invited. About fifty attended. The plan was conceived and the program conducted under the auspices of the Congregational and Methodist Social Service Commissions. Miss Chappell represented Professor Harry F. Ward, of the Methodist organization, and Rev. Hubert C. Herring, Congregational, acted as chairman of the seminar sessions, after having conducted the correspondence leading up to the assembly.

Pittsburgh is the proper place for such a study. Human suffering is greater in other districts of the bituminous coal field. There have been more violent clashes of opposing industrial forces elsewhere. But Pittsburgh is center and source of influences which make the coal situation the heartless and disgraceful thing it is. The Senate Committee rightly struck straight for Pittsburgh.

The aim of the seminar was understanding. Those assembled did not attempt to "solve the problem." They drew up no "findings." They made no proclamations or pronouncements to a bewildered world. They did go away with much clearer understanding of many important facts and conditions. The one resolution passed by vote of the group was a call to the operators, on the one part, and the labor forces, on the other, to come together in conference, to agree upon at least a temporary *modus vivendi* which shall embrace some of the common amenities and decencies of civilized life, and shall stop the present guerrilla warfare.

It was well understood that nothing these forces are likely to agree to, nothing perhaps to which they can agree, will really solve the problem and insure permanent peace. Both sides throw up their hands, during the brief periods when they take their hands off each other's throats, in acknowledgment of their impotence. The more arbitrary operators declare that they will handle the situation if the labor forces will surrender, withdraw, and leave them to set their own wage scales. But even they know that their "if" is monumental, an affront to credulity not to speak of intelligence. The less arbitrary operators frankly declare that governmental interposition is the only hope.

The labor forces are divided, tragically, perhaps fatally divided. They sometimes battle with each other more bitterly and violently than against the common foe. This seminar is the first occasion when it has been possible to bring the two labor factions together upon the same platform. Up to the last moment it seemed impossible to get them into the same room, even tandem. Yet they are agreed on the one conviction that only governmental action can save the day, or even the forenoon of it. They have signified their willingness to go into conference with the operators, but they will do so only in the expectation of patching up some temporary *modus vivendi*, to serve until such time as government shall not be absorbed in our quadrennial fiasco when partisanship and only partisanship dominates the minds and purposes of public officers, from the lowest to the highest.

A discriminating university professor, whose summing up of the situation at the seminar was the completest and clearest statement presented, expressed the apparent conviction of all that the situation is bound to grow worse before it can grow better. John L. Lewis, the head of the United Mine Workers, was quoted as saying that there is now no strike. The strike attempted a year ago has resulted in defeat for the unions, though the original status nominally continues. But, Mr. Lewis is reported to have added in rather lurid language, that the striking miners propose to see that the operators make no money. If the testimony of the operators is to be accepted, Mr. Lewis and his policy are succeeding if this is the end sought: the operators are running at a loss, though they have cut wages to their own figures, and continue to follow their own greed or caprice in altering them from day to day and week to week.

The professor referred to pointed out that the foremost desideratum just now is a "landing place" upon which both parties can alight. Both are up in the air. Both have vehemently declared that they will never recede from positions which are tenable for neither. The operators have said they will never again treat with union representatives. They must. How can their faces be measurably saved until they do so? The union leaders have declared that they will never yield the wage scale of the Jacksonville agreement, seven-fifty per day. Yet that they must do, at least as a temporary expedient. How can they yield the point without bringing down their whole structure about their ears and upon the bodies of the men and their families, already crushed by the burdens of living under the old regime? If they agreed to a six-dollar day, how long will it be before the rate demanded will be five? If five is yielded, how long will it be before the whole former unionized territory will be reduced to the status of slavery as in West Virginia and elsewhere south, where wages are already down to two-fifty and less per day, with little assurance that the working year shall exceed 175 or 200 days?

The representative of the largest operating company, that of which Secretary Mellon is believed to be the heart and soul—Heaven save the mark!—as well as the largest recipient of its profits, frankly stated to the members of the seminar that his company had broken the Jacksonville agreement, which had established an acceptable wage scale. His reason was that upon discovering that they could not make profits under that scale they were "compelled" to break it. As was remarked later in the conference, this clear setting forth of the ethics of this and other coal companies was quite worth the cost of the seminar. The highly placed churchmen who own and control the coal companies are well known not to be in the business for their health or for aught else finally but profits, but it was not apprehended that their ethics were capable of such clear and unequivocal statement.

On the other hand, none giving heed to the frank statements of the several operators who appeared before the seminar, could withhold recognition of this frankness and their other virtues. What can managers and executives of industries organized as these are do except what these have done and are doing? They were living in measurably harmonious relations with their workmen up to 1923. The Pittsburgh district was strictly and completely unionized. A fixed wage scale was agreed to and paid. About that time competition from the southern coal fields, those of West Virginia and Kentucky, became overpowering. Southern fields were not unionized. The wage scale was low, was almost anything which the operators of those sec-

tions wished to make them. Railroad differentials were increasingly favorable to them. Coal from these fields was shipped directly through and into Pittsburgh, robbing them of their time-honored market. The forty and forty-five thousand mining force in the Pittsburgh district was reduced to twenty thousand. The working year was cut, even for this reduced number, to 225, or under. The companies were operating at a loss. (At least they so report. To this day no authoritative public inspection of their books has been permitted.)

What should they do? What could they do? Their competitors, stealing their market, were untroubled by union scales and union demands in the matter of working conditions. The Pittsburgh operators, led by Mr. Mellon's company, struck at their competitors at this point where they believed themselves most handicapped. They had to cut expenses somewhere, and they considered this the best guess: take it out of wages. They guessed wrong, as they perhaps now agree. While they claim now to be winning back their lost market, they united at the seminar in declaring that the resulting labor conditions are compelling them to operate at a loss. But given the conditions, and the compulsion upon the management to satisfy stockholders long inured to greedy expectations, who would have guessed differently? The alternative was for these particular managers to quit, and these particular companies to go out of business. The graces of resignation and of self-immolation are not often given to high-salaried industrial managers and closed-book industrial corporations. So, American society sees what it sees, and feels what it today suffers.

The rift in the labor forces is lamentable. In so far as the present issue is concerned, it is disastrous. The two factions are in hopeless disagreement, though the opposition remains in the union; it has, indeed, adopted as its name and its slogan, "Save the Union." They declare that the only salvation of the union lies in the elimination of John L. Lewis and his administration. And if the half of what they assert, with show of circumstantial evidence, is justified, it would be difficult to imagine any labor movement permanently succeeding under such leadership.

But whatever be the merits of the controversy, there the two factions stand, or writhe, locked in a fatal conflict. No salvation for the community can come from that source. It has long been the general conviction of the thoughtful public that Mr. Lewis' leadership is impossible. Those who challenge him and his administration within labor ranks are charged with being "disgruntled," would-be leaders. The president of the opposition movement was a candidate for Mr. Lewis' office, winning it by a fair count of union votes, say his supporters; sore because defeated, say Mr. Lewis' supporters.

So there we are. Labor cannot lead out of the bog. It can for a time only sink deeper and deeper. The operators cannot run their own business, much less muster the statesmanship required to lead the industry into a new world and in adaptation to radically new social and economic conditions. There is only one source of light and leading. The public. For practical purposes, that, of course, means the government. As already stated, salvation from that source is unthinkable during a period when the government is politics and politics is government. Coal is too hot for either of the only political parties which will stand anywhere within the sight of office at the end of the present year's campaign. Wait for any intelligent effort to touch coal, therefore, until after the new administration has been installed at Washington and has sweated through the first dreary months of finding itself. Whether by that time vision and resourcefulness shall be vouchsafed for the task, only vision and resourcefulness on the part of the American electorate in the coming election will determine.

The American public is only now beginning to realize how sick the coal industry is. It is second only to that of food in our economy, yet it welters in such a slough of evils as to require a volume even to catalogue them. Overproduction on a vast scale, or what would be overproduction if any degree of efficiency in operation were attained. Two hundred and fifty thousand men and their families dependent upon the industry in excess of the numbers required to produce all the coal now demanded for American consumption and for our share in the foreign market. Improved methods already turning out twelve thousand tons by a mining operation which less than fifty years ago gave one hundred tons. Improvements in combustion such as to require but fourteen ounces of coal today to produce power which less than fifty years ago required four pounds. Yet improvements both in production and consumption lagging so far behind the known possibilities as to make coal one of the outstanding scandals of our wasteful industrial system. When chemical and engineering science really gets down to business in this industry the present social chaos can only be vastly compounded—without radical reorganization.

Here is occasion for science and statesmanship as nowhere else in our economy. What other than mischief and more mischief is to be expected from rancor and greed and face-saving evasions and disregard of the elemental human considerations which expert and onlooker, operator and workman, manager and the public must recognize to be first always and everywhere in the industrial process?

As already pointed out, nobody proposes any permanent solution short of the interposition of government. One of the operators, the only one before the seminar who attempted to offer a solution, outlined the kind of commission and its large powers which are the minimum essential. Other suggestions advanced from this proposal to complete nationalization of the coal fields and the coal industry.

But even the first essays at these permanent solutions cannot be even dreamed of short of a year or eighteen months. In the meantime the mess is getting messier. There are major bankruptcies predicted among coal companies, unless the opposing forces speedily find a temporary *modus vivendi*. Thousands of families now dependent upon union doles and relief funds must lean more heavily still. The savings of most are already gone. The union doles must soon be exhausted. Then the whole burden will fall upon an already wearied charity. Then, then indeed, the rampant communist and his cynical anarchist brother will get in their work. They are already gloating, and so busy as to alarm the complacent in all the coal territory. Finally, the American public everywhere will indulge in grieved and shocked wonder over the spread of "bolshevism." How scandalous that any should cherish doubt and cast discredit upon our sacred institutions! Yes, this is just the sort of muddlers we are.

Out of this muddling and misery may come two or three major social benefits. In the first place, by

sheer starvation the present surplus of 250,000 miners may be forced into other vocations. Where? is, of course, the big question. What branch of industry is today prepared to absorb them? Nobody seems to know, or is even ready with a guess. But maybe we shall muddle into some shift.

In the second place, the increasing desperation of the industry may prepare the public mind for the radical measures required in any adequate handling of the problem. The public mind is certainly not now prepared. It was pathetic at the seminar to hear one of the prominent labor leaders struggling through the exposition of a program of nationalization which he had not originated nor even digested, but which some more or less eminent doctrinaire had committed to paper for him. Yet the public mind must be brought to think in the terms of some thorough-going reorganization of the whole industry. Tom Johnson hammered away at the Cleveland public until he forced it to become traction-minded. The veriest bum on the park bench finally became a traction expert. And Cleveland solved its traction problem. The American public faces a terrible ordeal, but it has manifestly got to become coal-minded. Not only must the true solution of the problem be found, but the American public must school itself to recognize and accept it when it is produced.

In the meantime suffering human beings must be cared for. The Pittsburgh community is rich enough to take care of its own. The real desperation is in out-of-the-way sections of central Pennsylvania, of Ohio, and West Virginia, and farther south and west.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

Two Bibles

[A Hindu's Comparison of their Influence on Social Life.]

A community of God-seekers is a reliable shelter for man; but as soon as it grows into an institution, it is apt to give access to the devil by its back-door. Nearly always religion has sought this shelter in institutions; indeed, often when independent of them it has not been recognized as religion at all. This is the case with the harvest of religious thought, reaped in a great period of Indian history, which is garnered in the Upanishads. These had nothing to do with institutions; they harbored no creeds, nor did they build rigid walls of logical consistency around themselves. Brought up in the atmosphere of some sectarian religion, people regard the text of these great books as so many seeds of religious philosophy.

This may, of course, be said also of the Bible. But Christianity as an institutional religion, such as we usually see it practiced in life, really is more similar in nature with, and shares the fate of, the Indian "caste system," so often misrepresented by the missionaries. In themselves, both systems—Christianity and Caste—are theoretically perfect if ideally presented and imperfect if misrepresented.

When a religious group is formed, its personality nearly always gives way to an egoism which judges its own value by its external success and physical duration. It becomes a "sect," struggling for bigness and self-preservation—even at the cost of truth. The growing consciousness of its own distinction develops into pride which, like the pride of wealth, is a temptation.

So, it is extremely difficult to be truly Christian; and yet, by following the easier path of belonging to a Christian sect, one may acquire the merit of being recognized as a Christian and the right to despise even one's betters if by chance or choice they do not profess Christianity. This is not peculiar to the development of Christianity but invariably has happened when a religion has become crystallized in sectarianism. Religious communities are more often built upon custom and habit than upon truth or the quest of it.

Nor is this remarkable if we note how a religious community is made up. The children born to a Christian family are included in the community, not because they have proved their fitness to belong to it, not because they want to belong to it, but through the accident of birth. They may never have time or opportunity to discover their own inclinations toward the religion they profess. They are persistently hypnotized into believing that they are Christians. They may even teach Christianity without having ever come to a clear understanding of their own religious beliefs. Thus we often witness in the East men preaching Christianity, as missionaries and even as bishops, to unchristian fellow-beings whom, but for the accident of their professional occupation, they might without qualm kill as soldiers or subject to the interests of their own people as diplomats.

An institution that brings together individuals of deep common aspirations will be of great help to them. But if, by its very constitution, it offers accommodation to those who merely have common habits without a true unity of faith, such a religious institution becomes a breeding place of untruths. And because, by virtue of their combination of powers, such institutions mechanically acquire superior force, the untruths they breed find ready opportunities to create widespread mischief.

Christ, like all other spiritual leaders and personalities, was solitary in his greatness and had a pure relationship with all humanity through love and truth. His spirit worked in solitude in the depth of men's souls. But what of the Church built in his name? While we find in it great-souled individuals who can be counted upon to be on the side of people who are oppressed and insulted, the Church itself is often on the side of vested interest and of the established powers that seek to exploit the weak. This is because as an institution the organized church is a power that finds its natural alliance with other powers of non-religious—and sometimes anti-religious—aims. At times it is even ready to make its bargain with the very powers that crucified Christ.

It is a truism to say that the character of the majority of the members of a community determines the level of its ideals; and therefore an institution that does not discriminate in the choice of its human material but has an inordinate desire to augment its membership often also becomes the most effective organ for expressing the collective passions of its members—however low. Have we not observed this during the late war? And

does not in times of peace Christianity in its sectarian embodiment fashion a cloak of respectability that covers a multitude of sins.

* * * *

But why do I thus arraign Christianity and not Hinduism? The people brought up in the atmosphere of that other Bible, the Upanishads, have kept its spiritual truths free from the bonds of sectarian institutionalization. The seeds of their religious philosophy come out of the fruit of a truly religious life, fully lived by a people. The remarkable thing about the religion of the Upanishads is that, though it was worked out by individuals who were not tied to each other, nevertheless there runs through it a common bond, a natural cord of unity that brings into conformity many varieties and shades of thought. For myself, I believe in such freedom of spiritual realization. It seems to me that the habit of obedience produced by the constant guidance of fixed creeds and the doctrines of ever-watchful sects must enfeeble the spiritual instincts of men, must give rise to that which we actually witness in the Christian world—the disguise of materalistic ideas in religious phraseology.

It is not enough that we should know the meaning of the words of the Sanskrit texts to realize the deeper significance of the utterances that have come to us from centuries of vast experience and changes—both in the external conditions of life and in the world of ideas. Once the language in which these texts were written was a living tongue; the words contained in them had their full context in the life of the people who spoke that tongue. Divested of that vital atmosphere of communication, a large part of these texts offer us merely the philosophical structure of a distant society and not life's subtle gesture which through suggestion can express all that is ineffable.

The lack of respect and sympathy displayed in the modern world for these collections of the most sacred words that have ever issued from the human mind is amazing. Though many of the symbolical expressions in the Upanishads can hardly be understood or may almost certainly be wrongly interpreted, they are not associated with any particular religious system. They contain, rather, the nourishment of a universal soil which can supply with living sap all religions that have any spiritual ideal hidden in their core or apparent in their fruit or foliage. This is possible because the Upanishads are based not upon theological reasonings but upon experience of spiritual life. And life is not dogmatic. In it opposing forces are reconciled; the concepts of monism and pluralism, of the finite and the infinite, do not exclude each other. Moreover, the Upanishads do not represent the spiritual experiences of one individual only, however great, but those of a great age of enlightenment with as complex a collective manifestation as that of the starry world. Different creeds may find their sustenance from these books, but never can sectarian boundaries surround them. In my own country, generations of men of many types, not merely students of philosophy but all seekers of life's fulfillment, have made living use of these texts without ever exhausting the freshness of their meaning. For such seekers, today also, the Upanishads and the ideas they contain are not wholly abstract like some of the books belonging to the religions of pure logic. They are concrete and applicable as are all truths realized through life.

RAMACHANDRA SABNIS.

The Study Table

The Bolshevik and the Mahatma

I have often been asked by curious friends as to how it is that I can cherish admiration for two such different characters as Nicolai Lenin, the great leader of the Russian Revolution, and Mahatma Gandhi, the great leader of the Indian Nationalist movement. These two men seem to stand at opposite poles of vision and character; the one is hard, cruel, ruthless, violent, of the Cromwell and Napoleon type; the other is gentle, merciful, loving, non-resistant, of the St. Francis and Tolstoy type. Is it possible to hold these two men in the same mind as objects of admiration and reverence? If we accept the one in any sense of the word, must we not reject the other?

The perfect answer to this plea is found in this book* by the German writer, Fülöp-Miller, already well known to us by his epoch-making work on contemporary Russia, entitled "The Mind and Face of Bolshevism." This volume is a parallel study of Lenin and Gandhi precisely of the Plutarch type. It is invaluable to all students of the contemporary world, first of all because it contains the amplest and ablest biographical studies of these two great men that are available in the English language. The first half of the book is devoted to Lenin, and includes an interesting short selection of his letters written from Siberia and later exile from 1898 to 1917. The second half of the volume is given over to Gandhi, and contains some letters written by the Mahatma from his prison chamber in 1922 and 1923. An elaborate bibliography of the books and articles on the two men in all languages, and a careful index, complete the volume. The biographical studies are not parallel in any exact or technical sense, but a comparison between the two men runs through the pattern of them both as a kind of golden thread.

Works on Lenin in English have been as scant in number as they are unsatisfactory in character. It is amazing that a contemporary who has bulked so huge upon the landscape of the international world should have inspired so few good books. The first work to appear was Albert Rhys Williams's "Lenin, the Man and His Work," which was confessedly nothing more than a collection of hurried sketches and comments. Landau-Aldanov's "Lenin," published in 1922, was a forward step in information and interpretation, but was a scrappy book and was vitiated by a hostile spirit. Isaac Don Levin's "The Man, Lenin," published in 1924, has been up to the present moment the best available book on the subject, but it is brief, the narrative is broken by fearful gaps, and again the interpretation is hostile. Leon Trotzky's book, "Lenin," is invaluable as a source book as well as the tribute of a comrade in great days, but it has no biographical importance except for the first hand reminiscences which it contains. Raymond Robin's picture of Lenin in his "Own Story" is an incomparably vivid flashlight glimpse of

*"Lenin and Gandhi," by René Fülöp-Miller. Published by Putnam. $5.

the man; and there are other similar pictures, as, for example, in the books of Wells, Bertrand Russell, and Brailsford. But there has been no satisfactory biographical study of Lenin until this book of Fülöp-Miller. Here we have for the first time an accurate, fairly complete, unbroken and sympathetic story of the career of the great revolutionist. For the moment this is the one book to which we can turn for information about the leader of the Bolsheviks. It is the fruit of careful and thorough study, and contains much original material in the form of quotations from the writings of Lenin, the reminiscences of his friends and associates, and the official documents of the Soviet Regime.

The most interesting part of Fülöp-Miller's book is the interpretation of Lenin's character. The author has no question as to the greatness of Lenin. He pays warm tribute, also, to his nobility—his patience, dauntless courage, endless sacrifice, and utter unselfishness and devotion. He exposes and thus silences forever the vile charge that Lenin was an agent of the Kaiser when he entered Russia after the fall of the Czar. He recognizes and acclaims Lenin's colossal, unparalleled achievement in carrying the Revolution through to triumph, and in organizing and establishing the new Russian state. Nothing like this has been seen since the days of Caesar! But the real surprise comes in Fülöp-Miller's insistence that at bottom Lenin was not a realist but a romanticist in his essential nature. It was the almost maddening intoxication of his dream of the Communist state and of his conviction that this state could be established all at once, that swept him on as by a miracle to his vast accomplishments, and thus accounts for the real secret of his greatness. This man is of that race of dreamers which alone up to now has given humanity its greatest pioneers. But it was this same romanticism, be it noticed, which led to Lenin's defeat in his immediate hopes and aims. He saved the revolution and established the Soviet Republic, but he failed to achieve the Communism of which he dreamed. Indeed, it was fated from the beginning, as we can now see, that the Communist state could not be established in a medieval country like Russia, and it was Lenin's incorrigible romanticism which blinded him to this fact. All the more is it to his credit that he awakened from his visionary dream in time and thus saved his handiwork from ruin. In this same romanticism, be it added, do we find the root of that essentially despotic spirit from which Lenin could never free himself. His was the "out of date mental attitude" of the medieval fanatic. He could not free himself from the flaming passion of his own impetuous desires. It was this that led him to that "spirit of violence, hate and suppression of all opinion opposed to his own" which has characterized so many a great and noble man before him. But nothing can dim the glory of Lenin's greatness as a statesman who built a new nation out of the wreckage of the old, nor the glory of his exalted character as "the prophet of a new and free humanity" who was moved throughout his entire career by "a profound sense of kinship with the dispossessed masses and a sincere endeavor and a serious ardent longing to put an end to poverty and misery." It is here, in his exalted aims for humankind, and his utter sacrifice for these aims, rather than in his autocratic and cruel methods for accomplishing these aims, that Lenin links himself with Gandhi.

Gandhi's story is told in the same spirit and in much the same way as the story of Lenin. It is not so new, however, as it has been preceded by Romaine Rolland's great book which still remains the finest as well as the first book in its field. Fülöp-Miller, however, adds much fresh material to what we have learned from Rolland—material unfamiliar to any except those who have made a special study of Gandhi's words and work. His interpretation of Gandhi's career is also fresher and more enlightening. This account of the great Mahatma is in no sense of the word a duplication of Rolland's account. It is a new and original work to be placed side by side with that of the great Frenchman. As the superb narration flows on, it becomes more and more manifest that Fülöp-Miller's sympathies are bound in fervent admiration to the person of the Mahatma. Here is a great man of the greatest type; here is a leader whose very failures are his victories; here is a saint and prophet whose own spirit is his immortal achievement! "Gandhi's revolution like that of Lenin," says Fülöp-Miller, "has not yet succeeded in reaching its real goal." But whereas Lenin's compensation was the abiding structure of the state he built, Gandhi's compensation is that greater and nobler thing which is to be found in the inner reality of his own life and vision. Lenin possesses the present as Gandhi does not and never will. But Gandhi possesses the future as Lenin does not and never will. Hence the paradox, that, from the eternal and thus essentially permanent standpoint, Gandhi is a realist as Lenin is a romanticist. It is in this parallel, or rather contrast, between these two men, antithetical to the commonly accepted opinion of them both, that we find the transcendent contribution that Fülöp-Miller makes to the study of their lives. We believe that this German has laid hold upon the truth in both cases; he is anticipating what history is destined to say about these two greatest men of modern times.

Fülöp-Miller has fine understanding and generous sympathy for both Lenin and Gandhi. It is in his method and spirit that we discover how it is possible to hold both these men in the admiration of a single mind. Read this book and the riddle is answered!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Memoirs of a Revolutionist

This book* has a two-fold interest, historical and psychological. A nobleman's daughter, a beautiful girl, endowed with unusual magnetism and charm, Vera Figner was one of the many young Russians who gave up ease and luxury to help the people. She studied medicine, and worked among the peasants as a doctor. But the authorities frowned upon all such efforts, and practically blocked them. Then she and others, seeing the autocratic government as the great enemy and oppressor of the people, started to wage war against it. Vera Figner helped to work out the program of the secret society, "Land and Liberty," and of the revolutionary party, "The Will of the People," and she was the last survivor of the famous "Executive Committee," which assassinated the Czar Alexander II in 1881.

If political assassination could ever be justified, it would seem to have been in old Russia. Many Americans agreed with Wendell Phillips, who said that it would be inexcusable in any free country, but that in Russia where every attempt at peaceable improvement

*The "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," by Vera Figner, published by INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS, New York, $8.

was smothered in blood, "dynamite and the dagger are the natural and proper substitutes for Faneuil Hall and the Boston Daily Advertiser." It is of especial interest to read what is said of the effect of terrorist methods by Vera Figner, herself one of the most courageous and devoted of the old terrorists. She writes (page 120):

I must here say a few words about the demoralization brought about in society by the methods of the struggle between the government and the revolutionary party. This struggle was accompanied by violence, as is the case with any conflict waged by means of force rather than ideas. And violence, whether committed against a thought, an action, or a human life, never contributed to the refinement of morals. It arouses ferocity, develops brutal instincts, awakens evil impulses, and prompts acts of disloyalty. Humanity and magnanimity are incompatible with it. And from this point of view, the government and the revolutionary party, when they entered into what may be termed a hand-to-hand battle, vied with one another in corrupting everything and everyone around them. On the one hand, the party declared that all methods were fair in the war with its antagonist, that here the end justified the means. At the same time, it created a cult of dynamite and the revolver, and crowned the terrorist with a halo; murder and the scaffold acquired a magnetic charm and attraction for the youth of the land, and the weaker their nervous system, and the more oppressive the life around them, the greater was their exaltation at the thought of revolutionary terror. Since the effects of ideas are hardly perceptible to a revolutionist during the brief span of his lifetime, he desires to see some concrete, palpable manifestation of his own will, his own strength, and at that time only a terroristic act with all its violence could be such a manifestaton. Society saw no escape from the existing condition; one group sympathized with violence practised by the party, while others regarded it only as a necessary evil—but even they applauded the valor and skill of the champion. And the repetition of such events made them a normal element of society's life.

She goes on to give the brighter side: the brotherhood existing between the revolutionists, the fact that they were fighting for the people's welfare and in defense of the oppressed, their renunciation of personal well-being, and acceptance of prison, exile and death, and the heroism and rare civic virtues of the leaders.

She then tells of the bad effect of these violent methods on the government, the redoubling of tyranny and cruelty, the creation of an army of spies, etc.: "Society became accustomed to this degradation of human dignity."

The first part of the book deals with Vera Figner's active life, and the great historical events in which she had a share; the second part with the twenty years spent by herself and her surviving colleagues in the Schlüsselburg Fortress. Here the interest becomes psychological, and the story very touching and strange. Vera Figner's courage is still strong and now, at seventy-five, this noble-minded woman is bearing her part in the movement "in the ever-forward direction toward genuine equality and freedom, for the happiness of Russia and all humanity."

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Correspondence

An Echo of the Anniversary from Hungary

Editor of UNITY:

I feel very humble and apologetic when I remember that I missed such a good opportunity as your celebration of the 50th anniversary of wonderful "Unity." I am very sorry, indeed, that no Hungarian word of appreciation should have been heard in this beautiful international harmony of your delighted readers. I am often so busy that I cannot open UNITY for several weeks; then I lay them by carefully to sit down to them at my first leisure. And thus it happened that I am so shamefully belated in saying: *"E'ljen, e'ljen* UNITY!" (Long live UNITY!) Here, in this remote small place of the world, mutilated by the War and torn in many more fragments by its own unfortunate inhabitants, a friendly voice, which in turn comforts and encourages, is invaluable. You feel, so long as there are in the world men and women who started and contribute to help and develop it, one must not lose hope and courage: progress of humanity is assured.

To finish I should like to tell you something which deeply touched me and which may appeal to you too. Vilma Glüchlich, my deeply lamented friend and leader, hid in a hospital, where she died. A few weeks preliminary, she enjoyed the hospitality of Yello Hertska in Vienna, the only person who knew where she went to. To her she wrote: "I am like the wild beasts, who hide when they are ill. And now, I beg to be excused! Do not trouble on account of me and do not worry! I take with me a number of UNITY copies, Ghandi's autobiography in them; they will help me to overcome difficulties from without and within." (Excuse very defective translation.) For this also, this last consolation given to my dear friend, I am deeply grateful to you.

EUGENIE M. MELLER.

Budapest, Hungary.

An Echo from California

Editor of UNITY:

It is nearly a month since the anniversary number arrived—so full of interesting and worthwhile things—and still my personal acknowledgment has not been sent.

Mine has been one of the families that belonged to that wider parish of All Souls, and UNITY was a welcome weekly visitor. Living, as we did when I was a child, in the pine forests of Oregon, we had little access to churches or lecture halls. But when UNITY came, our living room became church, where we listened to Mr. Jones' Forum, where we heard topics of the day discussed, lecture hall, where we heard some of the best of the world's poetry and literature. And one year, when we thought we couldn't afford it, Mr. Jones sent UNITY anyway, as he did to so many others.

Mother has complete files of UNITY since 1894, and as I reread them at times, I realize anew how UNITY has always seen far ahead, advocating the righteous step that in time everyone recognized as the right step. Very gratefully,

GERTRUDE GROTOPHORST.

Santa Clara, California.

One-ity or Unity?

Editor of UNITY:

UNITY is such an excellent publication, and we are all of us so indebted to it for so much in the way of both brave and generous utterance, that I am loath to say any word of criticism of it. Nor am I of those who dissent from its occasional sharpness with respect to public men, whether in this or that particular instance I hold with UNITY or not.

My criticism is rather that UNITY seems to me excessively individual in its emphasis, whether of praise or blame. Lists of the "Ten Greatest Men in the World," or laudations, or for that matter condemnations, of either individuals or groups, go no great distance with me. Orthodoxy misses the meaning of Jesus to a great degree by its over-eagerness to exalt him. Heterodoxies of all kinds fall easily into the same ditch. Both alike overlook the one thing of chief importance as to the social science of our day, that history is of the many much more than it has ever been of the few, and of the body of our common need rather than of the "genius" of any. World unity is coming, not by god-making or devil-baiting, of which we have had too much through all time, but by more of common understanding of the forces of our common life. It is not because the "Sons" or "Daughters of the American Revolution" are so different from their "fathers" that we are in trouble, but because the economic and social life of the one hundred and fourteen millions we are now, is of another world order from the life the two or three millions of Revolutionary days lived. Tell us more about all of us, and let

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

THE SEMINAR ON RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

A group of citizens of the United States will meet in Mexico City for three weeks in July, 1928. During this period, they will meet with the leaders of the Republic of Mexico. They will have the opportunity of hearing from the lips of the men who control the situation in our neighboring republic the story of the purposes and hopes of the Mexican people. They will hear about oil laws, land reforms, educational policies. They will hear about labor movements, church questions, and economic tendencies. They will see Mexican schools, churches, public works, mines. They will have ample time to move leisurely in and around Mexico's capitol, to talk with the people, to ask questions, and to learn something of this country and its people. They will hear the music of Mexico, see its art, visit its places of historic interest.

The purpose of the Seminar is to further that process of interchange of cultures which enriches all. Latin-America in general, and Mexico in particular, has peculiar gifts for our Anglo-Saxon culture. We have often heard that Latin-America needs us; many of us are equally convinced that we need Latin-America.

The "Seminar on Relations with Mexico" has held two successful sessions in Mexico; the first in April, 1926; the second in January, 1927. The members of these sessions have been in demand throughout the country for lectures and articles. They have sought to interpret the hopes and ideals of the people of Mexico to the people of the United States.

The sessions will be held in Mexico City. Trips will be made to points of interest in the country around the capitol; to the pyramids at San Juan Teotihuacan; to the floating gardens at Xochimilco; to the shrine at Guadalupe; to the semi-tropical gardens and historic relics of Cuernavaca; to the palace of Chapultepec. Optional trips will be arranged to other points at greater distance.

Mexico City, viewed from any angle, is one of the most interesting and charming cities in the world. Here you have the remains of an ancient Indian civilization upon which has been superimposed the wide boulevards, the palaces and the monuments of a modern Paris. There are great churches, with the symbolism of the Roman Catholic Church as influenced by Indian priests, against the background of graceful Spanish architecture. Here you will find native markets, with bargains in pottery and rugs. You will hear music here in the parks; music such as you have never heard before. You will meet the artists of Mexico and see their work.

Mexico City is at the top of the world, 7,500 feet above the sea. The summer climate is delightful. The sun may shine a little persistently for some tastes in the middle of the day, but the nights are cool. The physical setting of the city, with its cactus sprinkled plains, hills, mountains, quaint villages, lovely churches, all dominated by the peaks of Popocatepetl and Ixtaccihuatl, lays its spell upon you.

Mexico City and vicinity is an ideal vacation spot. There are good golf courses, there are abundant facilities for those who would ride or play tennis, or tramp, or climb mountains.

The program will be a leisurely one. Lectures will be arranged for the early morning hours, and at least two days a week will be left entirely free for trips. The whole plan will be arranged with large provision for rest, recreation and the chance to wander freely in Mexico City and surrounding country.

The cost for the trip to Mexico and a stay of three weeks need not exceed $500.00. Special railroad rates are offered from all points. For instance the round trip from New York to Mexico City is $138.32; from Chicago, $90.30; from Kansas City, $83.50; from Los Angeles, $162.32. Rates from other points can be obtained by writing the office of the Seminar. Hotel rates range from $1.50 to $5.00 per day. Meals cost approximately the same as in our own cities. Automobiles may be rented for $1.00 to $2.00 per hour.

A registration fee of $25.00 is charged each member of the Seminar. This covers the member's share of the general expenses of the Seminar, and two copies of the stenographic record of all sessions. This is a non-profit undertaking. No salaries are paid, and an effort is made to keep all expenses at a minimum. Each member of the Seminar pays his own expenses.

The University of Mexico holds its summer session from July 2nd to August 15th. For those who wish to enroll in the summer session, in addition to joining the Seminar, a special rate of $15.00 is made, this amount to be paid through the office of the Seminar. All who can stay for the entire period of the summer session are urged to do so. It will afford an excellent opportunity to take special courses in the University. The Catalogue of the Summer Session will be sent upon application to the office of the Seminar.

Clothing. Prepare as you would for a summer in Colorado. You will need light clothing for the days, and light overcoats for the evening.

The membership must be limited to those who are in a position to use the experience to good advantage. In applying, please state your business or profession. Teachers, lecturers, writers, editors—these and many other groups will be able to reach large audiences through lecturing or writing upon their return to the United States.

Send in your application immediately, together with check for $25.00 registration fee. (In case you find it necessary to cancel your registration, the fee will be returned in full, if notice is sent not later than June 15. After June 15, one-half will be refunded in case of withdrawal.)

Registrations, and requests for further information, should be sent to The Seminar on Relations with Mexico, Hubert C. Herring, Director, Room 506, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

Old Age Pensions?

Insistently the question presses: "What should we do with our 'non-institutional' aged poor?"

Action of some kind is increasingly needed.

Old age retirement allowances set

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us have less of running after demi-gods, or running at devils.

Los Angeles, California. ROBERT WHITAKER.

Coolidge, Kellogg, and Peace

EDITOR OF UNITY:

Long after everything else connected with Coolidge and Kellogg has been forgotten, it will be remembered that during their administration was taken the greatest step toward world-peace: the consideration by the American people and several other great powers of the actual Outlawing of War. Of course, Coolidge and Kellogg are not the sole causes of this step, but their fame will ride high on the tide of it. The peace propagandists, the conscientious objectors and even the unconscientious objectors to war—all those who have suffered and will suffer for their opinion's sake—these are the cause of this progress of anti-war sentiment. Coolidge and Kellogg are but the instruments that register and record this progress of popular sentiment. To regard Coolidge and his silence or Kellogg and his notes as being the *cause* of this progress toward peace would be just as sensible as to say that the speedometer which registers the speed and the distance of the vehicle's movement, also *causes* the speed and progress of the vehicle. But it will always be to the fame and honor of these two statesmen that the sentiment of their country and of the world reached such a stage during their term of office and that they did not try to hinder the progress but did what they could to further it.

And the 20th century, which has already witnessed so much in the way of man's adjustment of himself to the physical universe, may also witness this great adjustment of man to the social world about him;—man's harmonizing of himself with nature and the harmonizing of himself with other men—supreme achievements in science and in social philosophy.

A "war to end war" is a contradiction and an absurdity; but a hearty agreement and a signed and sealed human pact to end war is progress toward a final and permanent peace. Coolidge, Kellogg and Peace—let them be the new national trinity! WILLIAM PICKENS.

New York City.

up by the government for public employees are being followed by state old age pensions for needy veterans of private industry.

The six states—Montana and Nevada (in 1923), Wisconsin (1925), Kentucky (1926), Colorado and Maryland (1927)—and the territory of Alaska, have already adopted straight old age pension laws, based on the standard bill.

In addition, the legislatures of California, Washington and Wyoming passed the bill, but the Governors vetoed it. The Pennsylvania law of 1923—because of a unique provision of the state constitution—was thrown out by the courts.

Canada in 1927 enacted a federal-provincial system of old age pensions and British Columbia and Yukon Territory have already entered into this co-operative plan.

The only three populous countries without old age pensions are China, India and the United States.

"The Standard Bill" is a very modest proposal that a citizen of **70 years** or upward who has also resided continuously **15 years** in the state, shall, if the value of the applicant's property does not exceed **$3,000,** be entitled to a pension which when added to other income shall not exceed a total of **$1.00 a day.** A state-county system of administration is provided on an economical basis with provision for **careful local investigation** and general supervision.

In 1928, in its country-wide survey of law enforcement, the American Association for Labor Legislation will study **the actual operation of existing Old Age Pension laws,** in advance of the meeting of the 42 state legislatures and Congress which will be in regular session in 1929.

"The laws simply substitute limited assistance in the home for support in poorfarms or workhouses, thus extending a principle long ago applied in advanced states to orphans and widows with young children."—*Editorial in New York World.*

"The 'old age pension' which the American Association for Labor Legislation has been urging for several years, is designed to keep families together where there are aged dependents, instead of abandoning them to 'the callous neglect of dehumanized poorhouses.'"—*Editorial in New York Times.*

American Association for Labor Legislation,
131 East 23rd Street, New York City.

I am glad to help, with my contribution, the spreading of information on Old Age Dependency.

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MAY

Is the month for the year's greatest cleaning. The home's cold weather drapes and rugs, blankets and comforters, heavy motor robes, should all be cleansed before putting them away. Summer cretonnes and slip covers should be made ready for service. Send work here in confidence of its being done by the latest equipment and methods.

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THE AMERICAN DISCOVERY OF RUSSIA— SUMMER OF 1928

The two greatest nations on earth no longer know each other. Volumes have been written. But in the past ten years a mere handful of American social workers, writers, and business men, has seen revolutionary Russia. Still fewer Russians have visited America. A Russian or American in the other's country has the status of a visitor from Mars.

Last summer two parties of American students and intellectual workers, men and women, toured Russia through the instrumentality of the National Student Federation of America and the Open Road. The same organizations are again sending a few groups. Each will comprise eight members under the leadership of an informed American, and will be accompanied in Russia by a Russian interpreter.

Time in Russia: 3, 4, 5 or 6 weeks: Prices, New York to New York: $725, up. Sailings: June 16, 23, 30 and July 7. Visas: Applications through the Open Road.

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